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Young Arabs carry a man wounded Sunday in Jerusalem's Old City. It was uncertain if he was shot by a gunman who killed

two guards and wounded nine persons at a mosque by Israeli police who fired into a crowd after rioting broke out.



The suspect, Alan H. Goodman, is led away by Israeli police.

Israeli Buildup Alarms Palestinians, Lebanese

By Edward Cody
Washington Post Service

BEIRUT — Alarmed by sightings of an Israeli buildup along the border and by repeated threats from Israeli leaders, Palestinians and Lebanese spent the weekend in the grips of an acute war scare.

Yasser Arafat, head of the Palestine Liberation Organization, warned his officers and allies that Israel was likely to attack within a few days. PLO officials said.

Lebanese President Elias Sarkis called in U.S. Ambassador Robert S. Dillon twice Saturday to urge Washington's help in heading off bloodshed. Mr. Sarkis summoned Soviet Ambassador Alexander Solodov for a secret meeting.

Mr. Dillon said after his second meeting with Mr. Sarkis that the United States was in constant contact with the Israeli government, seeking to preserve peace along the Lebanon-Israeli border. In response to questions from Lebanese

reporters, however, he acknowledged that the situation had become dangerous.

The Reagan administration called on "all those involved to show the utmost restraint," Deputy White House Press Secretary Larry M. Speakes said in Barbados, where President Reagan was vacationing, that there were no immediate plans to send special Mideast envoy Philip C. Habib to the region but that Mr. Habib, who last summer negotiated the fragile cease-fire between Israel and the PLO, "stands ready" to go if need be.

Although U.S. officials refused publicly to confirm or deny the reports from Lebanon, some said privately that Washington did not have evidence of a new, large-scale Israeli buildup in the border area. The sources said that despite intensive consultations with the Israelis, the United States does not know what Prime Minister Menachem Begin's intentions are.

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 7)

Jewish Gunman Kills 2 At Jerusalem Mosque

David K. Shipley
New York Times Service

JERUSALEM — A man dressed as an Israeli soldier and wielding an automatic rifle shot his way Sunday into one of Islam's holiest shrines, the Dome of the Rock on Jerusalem's Temple Mount, and sprayed the inside of the mosque with gunfire, killing at least five Arabs and wounding nine persons.

Israeli policemen and border troops in riot gear swarmed onto the mount, assaulted the mosque and captured the gunman within about 20 minutes, then whisked him out through a mob of Moslems who had streamed to the site from all corners of the Old City.

The police identified the assailant as Alan Harry Goodman, 37, who apparently immigrated to Israel from Baltimore in 1977. Among belongings found in his room in the Beit Hakerem section of Jerusalem were leaflets from the Kach Movement, led by Rabbi Meir Kahane, a small extremist group of ultranationalists who advocate the expulsion of all Arabs from Israel, and the replacement of the mosques on the Temple Mount with a new Jewish temple.

The attack, which came on Easter morning as thousands of Christian pilgrims were worshipping in the Old City, set off furious demonstrations by Arabs throughout East Jerusalem. Stone-throwing youths injured at least 27 Israelis and foreigners on the Mount of Olives; two were hospitalized. On the Temple Mount, hundreds of angry men and boys chanted Palestinian nationalist slogans and stoned a small contingent of Israeli policemen, who were quickly reinforced by troops in combat gear spraying tear gas and firing into the air.

According to witnesses, Mr. Goodman entered the Temple Mount Sunday morning in a soldier's uniform and carrying an M-16 rifle, standard issue to the Israeli Army. An army spokesman said that he was a soldier, but it was unclear whether he was a reservist or on regular tour of duty.

Islamic leaders in Jerusalem declared a one-week general strike, which appeared to hold the potential for further clashes both in Jerusalem and on the occupied West Bank, where scattered demonstrations were reported following the incident.

Jerusalem's mayor, Teddy Kollek, called it "a terrible incident, all the more so because of the place where it happened."

The Temple Mount, an artificial plateau just inside the Old City walls, has been a target of Jewish militants who have repeatedly attempted in recent years to pray there in defiance of a ban by Israeli authorities.

The mount was the site of the original Jewish temple built by Solomon, and of the second temple, destroyed by the Romans in 70 A.D. There has been no Jewish presence on the mount since then, although it is the holiest place in Judaism. The Israeli government, after capturing that part of Jerusalem in the 1967 war, pledged to leave all holy sites undisturbed and in the custody of their respective religions.

Arab Jurisdiction

Consequently, the mount and its two mosques — al-Aqsa Mosque and the Dome of the Rock, also known as the Mosque of Omar — have remained under the jurisdiction of an Islamic council, and are guarded by Arabs. The site is usually considered the third holiest in Islam, after Mecca and Medina, because a protrusion of bedrock, around which the Dome of the Rock was built in the seventh century, is believed to be the point from which the prophet Mohammed ascended to heaven on his horse.

Israel's chief rabbi issued a strong denunciation of the gunman Sunday, according to Israel Radio, declaring that he had desecrated a spot holy to the Jewish people, and had thereby separated himself from the Jewish people.

Under Labor as well as under Conservative governments, Britain has tried to get rid of the islands for years. This nation has long since ceased to have colonial pretensions and possession of the Falklands brings no great benefit. Although there has been talk about oil, there has been no rush toward exploration, and the only real money-makers for the islanders are 600,000 sheep. Even with the wool trade, the Falklands last year imported more

Haig Takes 'Ideas' on Falklands To Britain

From Agency Dispatches

BUENOS AIRES — U.S. Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. postponed his return to Washington Sunday and was returning to London for further talks on averting war between Britain and Argentina over the Falkland Islands.

Dean Fischer, a State Department spokesman, said Mr. Haig, who met with Argentine officials almost all day Saturday, would leave "with specific ideas for further discussion."

Mr. Haig and other senior State Department officials met with Foreign Minister Nicanor Costa Méndez for four hours Saturday afternoon and then with President Leopoldo Galtieri for more than five hours. Mr. Fischer said the talks were "meaningful and open."

The meeting with President Galtieri ended at almost 2 a.m. Sunday. Mr. Haig, returning to his hotel, looked worn and said only that the talks were "a lot of work."

Mr. Haig, who arrived Friday night from London, had been scheduled to return Sunday to Washington. Mr. Fischer declined to say whether there had been actual progress in the talks, but he said "we will stay engaged in this process so as long as we can be helpful."

It was unclear what movement there may have been on a compromise. Mr. Fischer said the United States supported last week's United Nations Security Council resolution as a basis for a settlement. The resolution called for the withdrawal of the Argentine troops that invaded the islands April 2.

Diplomatic sources said one idea Mr. Haig would take to London was a proposal by Peru for an international peacekeeping force to occupy the archipelago. But the sources also stressed that Argentina might find unacceptable to withdraw in favor of a peacekeeping force.

In Washington, Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, the chief U.S. representative to the United Nations, said Sunday there was a "reasonable likelihood" that a last-minute settlement could be worked out. "I'm hopeful, very hopeful and I think I'm reasonably optimistic," she said.

The risk of an imminent clash

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 5)



The Associated Press
Secretary of State Haig and President Leopoldo Galtieri of Argentina confer in Buenos Aires.

Common Market Extends Ban To Cover Argentine Imports

New York Times Service

LONDON — The European Economic Community voted a total ban on imports from Argentina as the hour approached for the imposition of Britain's naval blockade of Argentine shipping in the seas off the Falkland Islands.

The sanctions, adopted by the 10-member community at a meeting Saturday in Brussels, were the sternest punitive measures in the Common Market's 25-year history.

Officials said that they could be imposed, along with a ban on arms sales to Argentina, that was approved Friday, as early as Wednesday if legal documents can be completed in time.

Argentina hinted Sunday that it might retaliate against countries that comply with British requests for economic sanctions over the Falklands Islands crisis. Reuters reported from Buenos Aires.

The quick, stern action by the community contrasted sharply with its response following the imposition of martial law in Poland. It took three weeks on that occasion to get any agreement at all, and the sanctions eventually imposed affected only about 1 percent of Soviet exports to member countries.

Although a Common Market communiqué issued Saturday was somewhat ambiguous in calling for support from other nations, British officials expressed the hope that such Commonwealth countries as Canada and New Zealand might join the embargo. Australia has already blocked Argentine imports, and the United States is not expected to do so because of its mediating role.

The government was disturbed by several reports suggesting that many of the 1,300 Falklanders would prefer Britain to refrain from military action altogether or that they would want to be evacuated prior to any assault on the islands. Their views, if accurately reported, would tend to undercut the rationale for Britain's response to the invasion.

Falklander Letter

In a letter said to represent the views of 500 Falklanders, 15 senior administrators, including the top police and medical officers, asked that the islands be evacuated by "protecting power" before fighting began and that the power — presumably in London to mean the United States — send an observer to the area immediately.

The Falkland Islands office, a lobbying group in London, denied that the latter represented the views of the islanders and noted that no elected officials were among the signatories. Rex Hunt, the former governor of the colony now in London, said that 90 percent of the islanders would choose to remain despite the risks, rather than face losing their homes and property. But he called the letter "genetic."

Meanwhile, the British naval task force, composed of at least 27 ships, steamed southward toward the potential combat zone, which is not expected to reach for at least another week.

—R.W. APPLE Jr.

Doubts Grow on Thatcher's Political Survival

By R.W. Apple Jr.
New York Times Service

that they exported, and the local government ran a deficit.

The population, moreover, has been declining steadily and may soon be too small to keep the economy alive. The islands' strategic value vanished when British ships began using the Panama Canal instead of the stormy route around Cape Horn. Even worse from London's viewpoint, the Falklands are all but

defensible against Argentina, barely 400 miles (640 kilometers) away.

Yet generations of diplomats have failed to unload the islands because they could not survive as an independent state, because postwar British politicians have made a big thing of respecting the wishes of local populations, especially those of British stock, and because the Falklanders have furiously opposed any link with Argentina.

They call Argentines "Argies," and their language, politics, mores and even their food. A recent visitor expressed astonishment at the islanders' preference for canned beans and peaches, second-rate British beer and local mutton over Argentine steaks, wine and fresh produce.

So the search for a way to cast off the col-

ony has marked time, while the British military presence there withered because of spending cuts at home. When the invasion finally came on April 2, there were only 80 Royal Marines on the islands and the Antarctic support ship the H.M.S. Endurance, patrolling nearby.

Former Prime Minister James Callaghan was in the House of Commons last week that Mrs. Thatcher had asked for trouble.

The Argentine junta, he said, had taken as a clear sign of irritation Britain's decision earlier this year to sell the Endurance as part of a further spending cut prompted by its decision to buy Trident missiles. He argued that when the Thatcher government took no action to evict Argentine scrap merchants who landed illegally on South Georgia, a Falklands dependency, on March 23.

It failed to do so, and failed to move to protect the Falklands, because it misinterpreted the signals coming out of Buenos Aires. Sometime on March 26, 27 or 28, the British Embassy in Argentina told the Foreign Office of an Argentine invasion plan. An official in the embassy later said bitterly: "They chose to ignore it entirely. It was a complete error of judgment on London's part."

On the Monday before the invasion, the em-

(Continued on Page 2, Col. 6)

2 Reach North Pole in Bid To Circumnavigate Globe

United Press International

LONDON — Two British adventurers trying to circle the globe by both poles planted a Union Jack at the North Pole on Sunday and sent a triumphant teletype to Prince Charles.

Sir Ranulph Fiennes, 38, and Charles Burton, 40, rested at the North Pole after completing by snowmobile the most hazardous portion of their 52,000-mile (83,200-kilometer) trip, described by Arctic experts as the "toughest journey on Earth."

Mr. Burton had only one word to describe how he felt after having arrived at his goal. "Marvelous," he said.

In 1980 to 1981, the two Britons, along with a third, Oliver Shepherd, 36, crossed Antarctica to traverse the South Pole.

The 2-year adventure of Sir Ranulph and Mr. Burton is not over, however. To be the first to circumnavigate the globe by the North and South poles, the Transglobe Expedition team must return to Greenwich, England, where they set out in 1979. They hope to arrive in July.

On Sunday, while Sir Ranulph



The Associated Press
Sir Ranulph Fiennes, left, and Charles Burton trekking over the snow with their gear. The photograph was taken March 18.

Ecevit Is Again Arrested After Assailing Regime

By Edward Cody
Washington Post Service

ANKARA — Bulent Ecevit, a former Turkish premier, has been arrested on charges of "making false statements against the interests of Turkey." He faces a prison sentence of not less than five years if he is convicted.

Mr. Ecevit was interrogated twice recently by the military prosecutor of Ankara because of interviews given to Dutch television reporters and an article written for the West German magazine Der Spiegel.

According to the martial law authorities, the latest charges were based on another interview, this one with Norwegian journalists. In his article and interviews, Mr. Ecevit has criticized military rule in general and the attitude of the ruling military body, the National Security Council.

When he was informed Friday that he was to be arrested and told the reason, Mr. Ecevit appeared to dispute the accuracy of the statements attributed to him. He told a columnist for the Turkish daily Cumhuriyet: "I have not given such an interview. It means that they are taking me in for things that I have not said."

Some reports said Mr. Ecevit



would face a military court Monday. Mr. Ecevit, 56, was held for a month at a military installation after the military takeover on Sept. 12, 1980, and resigned from the leadership of the Republican People's Party, which was later abolished. Since then, he has been speaking out against the military regime. His efforts prompted the military administration to issue a decree barring politicians from making political statements "on the past, present and future of Turkey."

Mr. Ecevit, who was premier three times during the 1970s, recently served a three-month sentence for violating the ban on public statements. His prison term was reduced by one month for good behavior.

"I have now been discharged but so long as the limitation on my freedom of expression continues, I feel as if I were in prison everywhere," Mr. Ecevit said after he was released in February.

His weekly magazine, Arayis, or Search, has been banned, and his request for a passport turned down.

Gen. Kenan Evren, the head of the National Security Council, said

INSIDE

Russians Wary

A senior Soviet official meeting with a group of visiting Americans in Moscow has given a wary response to President Reagan's proposal that he and the Soviet leader, Leonid Brezhnev, meet in New York during a United Nations disarmament conference in June, although Mr. Brezhnev may attend the conference. Page 2.

Ershad Interview

Lt. Gen. Hussain Mohammed Ershad, Bangladesh's new military ruler, said in an interview that he believed the Soviet Union was "very dangerous" and added that Bangladesh felt nothing but friendship toward the United States. Page 5.

Naval Expansion

The Reagan administration proposal for the most ambitious naval expansion in U.S. peacetime history makes the \$168-billion procurement program an inviting target to those in Congress who want to reduce the federal deficit by holding down military spending. Page 5.

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Soviet Official Responds Warily To Reagan Proposal for a Summit

By John F. Burns
New York Times Service

MOSCOW — A senior Soviet official, meeting with a group of visiting Americans, has given a wary response to President Reagan's proposal that he and the Soviet president, Leonid I. Brezhnev, meet in New York during a UN disarmament conference in June.

The Americans, visiting under the auspices of the Institute of Policy Studies in Washington, said a Soviet official who is a member of the Communist Party's Central Committee told them that no decision had been made on whether Mr. Brezhnev would attend the conference, but that he thought it likely that the Soviet leader would go.

It Would Be Well'

However, the official, who spoke to the Americans on a background basis, said the Soviet side would have reservations about the proposed Reagan-Brezhnev encounter. The Americans said the reasons given were that Mr. Reagan would likely use the United Nations forum for a propaganda speech that would create an inauspicious climate for talks, and that any top-level meeting should be preceded by painstaking preparation.

But the Americans quoted the Soviet official as saying that if Mr. Brezhnev did go to New York, he

would probably use the occasion for "contacts" with Mr. Reagan that would fall short of negotiations. The official was said to have emphasized that he was offering a personal opinion and was not stating Soviet policy.

Mr. Reagan made his proposal during an informal session with reporters in the Oval Office last week. He said he would be addressing the UN conference, which is scheduled from June 7 to July 9, and urged Mr. Brezhnev to do the same. Mr. Reagan added, "I think it would be well if he and I had a talk."

Mr. Brezhnev has proposed meeting with Mr. Reagan on several occasions in the past year. For several months the U.S. administration took a cautious attitude toward the proposal, saying any summit should be well-prepared and likely to make substantive progress on issues between the two nations. But after the Soviet-backed military crackdown in Poland in December, administration officials began saying that a meeting with Mr. Brezhnev might be useful.

The substance of the Soviet official's remarks was relayed by members of the U.S. group, which came to propose a conference in Minneapolis next year between 40 private Americans and 40 Soviet representatives on disarmament and U.S.-Soviet relations.

Aide Still at Large Says Warsaw Plans Final Dissolution of Union

By John Darnton
New York Times Service

WARSAW — The most prominent Solidarity leader to elude capture has said he believes that Polish martial law authorities are planning to ban the union. Until now, Solidarity has been suspended, but not dissolved.

Zbigniew Bujak, the leader of the Warsaw chapter who is hiding somewhere in the capital, asserted Saturday that recent moves by the government of Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski pointed to "the threat of delegitimization" of Solidarity.

He cited the dissolution of the Polish journalists' association, whose liberal leadership supported many of Solidarity's ideas, the dismissal of the elected rector of Warsaw University, and attacks upon Solidarity in the government-controlled press.

[Lech Walesa was reunited with his family over Easter, the first time they have been together since the Solidarity leader was interned in the military takeover in December. Reuters reported from Warsaw.]

Sources close to the family said that Danuta Walesa and her seven children traveled from their home in Gdańsk to join her husband at a guarded government villa near the capital where he is being held. The couple have been together at least twice since December, but this was the first time since then that Mr. Walesa had seen all his children as well. Reuters reported.]

Fight Without Compromise'

Mr. Bujak's observations were contained in a handwritten and signed statement given to Western journalists. In it he called upon Solidarity members to "fight without any compromise for our union" and appealed to unions in other countries to throw their support "with all available means" in the hour of need.

His statement underlined a quandary of the independent unionists who have been searching for a means to organize and assert their numerical strength. Solidarity leaders and advisers have been car-

rying on a lively discussion of their own in underground essays, bulletins, letters and treatises.

The most talked about one last week was a long document attributed to Jacek Kuron, the country's best known political dissident, that was reportedly smuggled out of prison where he is interned.

Society, he writes, is in a state of war declared by the authorities. So far, thanks to the self-control of the population, there has been no bloodbath. But the authorities are unsure in their rule and engendering fear and submissiveness among some and the desire to fight back among others, Mr. Kuron says.

Cataclysmic Event

He argues that the authorities must either strike a compromise with society or they will be overthrown, a cataclysmic event that would bring about Soviet military intervention.

Accordingly, Mr. Kuron asserts that the "only hope for Poles" is to set up a well-organized opposition movement, which could resist terrorism and be strong enough to extract the necessary compromises.

It should show its presence in numerous ways, from publications to slogans on walls, demonstrations and collective actions, including strikes. It should also educate the public to accept certain compromises on its side, he says.

In another development, Solidarity sources said that a clandestine broadcast by the union was being prepared from a secret transmitter in the capital for Monday night. They said that it would include a statement by Mr. Bujak, and, if successful, would give a lift in morale to the anti-government forces.

Envoy Defection Reported

WARSAW (LAT) — A third Polish ambassador has quietly defected to the West and is believed to have sought political asylum in the United States, according to Western and Polish sources here.

SUMMER WORKSHOPS

MOROCCO

Spend an extraordinary summer in the beautiful city of Tangier in the Kingdom of Morocco studying Painting, Photography, Creative Writing, Islamic History, Culture and Art; French; Spanish; Arabic.

Three or six week sessions: First session: JULY 3-JULY 24. Second session: JULY 24-AUG. 14.

Painting: Bruce Boice, Michael Goldberg; Photography: Abby Robinson, David Tuten; Islamic Studies: Thomas Whitcomb, Ph.D., Charles Redman; Islamic Art: Judith Lerner, Ph.D.; Creative Writing: Paul Bowles, Frederic Tuten, Ph.D.

IRELAND

Graphic Design and Printmaking workshops, held in cooperation with the National College of Art and Design in Dublin, and Film-making workshops at the National Film Studios.

Graphic Design or Printmaking Three-week session: JULY 10-31.

Film-making 1st session: JULY 3-17, 2nd session: JULY 17-31. Graphic Design: Alton Glaser, James McMullan, Edward Benguiat; Eileen Hedy Schulz, George McGranahan, Richard Wilde; Printmaking: Sandro Chia, Arakawa, Lucio Pozzi.

VISUAL ARTS

For further information about the workshop of interest, contact Greg Miller at the Office of International Studies, School of Visual Arts, 209 East 23 Street, New York, New York, U.S.A. 10010. Phone: 212 579 7350.

Church Says East Germany Offends Youth

Authorities Accused Of Being Repressive

Reuters

BERLIN — East Germany's Protestant Church accused the Communist authorities in an open letter Sunday of alienating youth by excessive repression of a growing unofficial peace movement.

The letter, signed by the leader of the churches' conference, Dr. Werner Krusche, the bishop of Magdeburg, said that the church was not able to make the government position understandable to young people.

The Americans, several of whom have ties to the liberal wing of the Democratic Party, included Marcus G. Raskin, a senior fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies, who was the principal spokesman who met with Mr. Reagan.

Mr. Reagan made his proposal during an informal session with reporters in the Oval Office last week. He said he would be addressing the UN conference, which is scheduled from June 7 to July 9, and urged Mr. Brezhnev to do the same. Mr. Reagan added, "I think it would be well if he and I had a talk."

Mr. Brezhnev has proposed meeting with Mr. Reagan on several occasions in the past year. For several months the U.S. administration took a cautious attitude toward the proposal, saying any summit should be well-prepared and likely to make substantive progress on issues between the two nations. But after the Soviet-backed military crackdown in Poland in December, administration officials began saying that a meeting with Mr. Brezhnev might be useful.

The Americans reported that one Central Committee member said Mr. Reagan's sincerity in proposing a meeting with Mr. Brezhnev was cast in doubt by the president's reported invitation to a group of Soviet exiles living in the United States to meet with him in the White House next month. The official said he understood that those invited included the novelist Alexander Solzhenitsyn, who was exiled in 1974.

Mr. Raskin said the main theme of Soviet officials' remarks during the meeting had been that Mr. Reagan was pulling the Soviet Union into a fresh round of the arms race with his increased military spending.

The substance of the Soviet official's remarks was relayed by members of the U.S. group, which came to propose a conference in Minneapolis next year between 40 private Americans and 40 Soviet representatives on disarmament and U.S.-Soviet relations.



Demonstrators in Buenos Aires rallied against Britain.

United Press International

Haig Returning to London With 'Ideas' on Falklands

(Continued from Page 1)

between the British and Argentine navies may have receded during the weekend. Britain said Sunday that nearly all Argentine warships had been withdrawn from around the Falklands.

Back to Port

Britain had warned that a 200-mile (320-kilometer) "war zone" would be imposed around the Falklands beginning at 5 a.m. London time Monday. About 18 hours before the deadline, the Defense Ministry said that only a destroyer and a frigate were still at sea. He refused to say if either was in the war zone.

Young people wearing the badge have told of baving it ripped off by police and being sent home from school or university classes.

Sources said that the letter was read in churches in East Berlin at Easter services and would be circulated to churches throughout the country.

'Difficult Problems'

It said: "We fear that the actions of state bodies are leading to difficult problems in the relationship of basically well-intentioned youth to the state and for the inner peace of our society and the personal development of young people."

The church letter said it opposed the confusion of the expression of Christian conscience with the formation of an unofficial movement but nevertheless regarded state action against wearers of the symbol as a restriction of freedom of belief and conscience.

The sources offered no explanation for the silence surrounding Mr. Wisniewski's reported defection. Two earlier ambassadorial defections were widely publicized in the West. Romuald Spasowski, Poland's envoy to the United States, and Zdzislaw Rurak, ambassador to Japan, both defected in December in protest over the imposition of martial law in their homeland.

U.S. Study of Economy

WASHINGTON (AP) — Poland faces a worsening economic crisis in which its future labor problems and an inability to maintain essential imports will be compounded by its crackdown on Solidarity, according to a U.S. study conducted by the Commerce Department. The study was released Saturday by Rep. Henry S. Reuss, the Wisconsin Democrat who is chairman of the Joint Economic Committee.

The report acknowledged that the crackdown did succeed in postponing the day when the government will have to confront its labor problems. But it said the move increases the possibility that Western nations and their banks will be less forthcoming with economic assistance in 1982 and beyond.

5 Die in W. German Fire

HANNOVER, West Germany — Five teenagers burned to death Sunday in the village of Holzhausen, near Göttingen, after a pile of wood they were guarding caught fire, police said. The teenagers evidently had built a shelter out of the wood, which was intended for an Easter bonfire, and were inside it.

Submarines in Area

Though the British task force is still at least a week away from the Falklands, the Defense Ministry has acknowledged that it would have an unspecified number of submarines there to enforce the blockade.

On the deployment of the Argentine Navy, a defense spokesman told reporters: "We note that their aircraft carrier, their only cruiser, seven of their eight destroyers, two of their three frigates and all of the submarines are back in mainland ports."

At a rally Saturday outside the presidential palace in Buenos Aires, President Galtieri declared that if the British "want to come, come — we'll fight them."

It appeared that his speech further incited an already aroused public and that this could make it more difficult for the government to make concessions on the islands.

"Each Argentine man, woman and youth can be absolutely sure," Gen. Galtieri said, "that in representing the people of this nation in this first meeting with the representatives of the United States, I feel pride and satisfaction in maintaining the dignity and honor of the Argentine nation. The dignity and honor of this nation is not negotiable by anyone."

Once a Close Aide

In February, 1979, Mr. Galtieri, then one of Ayatollah Khomeini's closest aides, returned on the same plane that brought the ayatollah back to Iran after 16 years in exile.

It quoted a special military revolutionary court headed by Hojatoleslam Mohammad Reyshehri, a hard-line militant clergyman, as saying Mr. Galtieri and his accomplices had been supported in their plot by a "superpower," Tehran radio said.

Mr. Galtieri was appointed to the powerful revolutionary council in the early days of the revolution and then became head of the national radio and television network.

He became foreign minister soon after the U.S. Embassy in Tehran was seized by militants in November, 1979. He tried unsuccessfully to end the occupation.

After losing the 1980 presidential race to Abolhassan Banisadr, Mr. Galtieri gradually lost authority, reportedly because the ayatollah felt he was too moderate.

He was arrested in November, 1980, after denouncing Moslem fundamentalists, saying they had made the state radio and television network that people were tuning in foreign stations.

Ayatollah Khomeini ordered his release three days later after demonstrations in protest against his arrest in Tehran and the holy city of Qom.

He was said to be starting a newspaper but then vanished from public life. Western correspondents with contacts in Tehran said he had chosen to end his political career and live quietly in the capital.

He was arrested in 1980 for criticizing Islamic fundamentalists but released three days later on Ayatollah Khomeini's orders.

The statement said the plotters "intended to kill" Ayatollah Khomeini. "And then, pretending to avenge his death," the statement said, the plotters would "carry out a bloody purge in the responsible organs and revolutionary institutions and finally seize power."

Educated at Georgetown University in the United States, Mr. Galtieri, 46, has long been unpopular with other revolutionaries because of his long exile spent in the United States, his worldly manner and what has been described as his high-handedness.

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The statement said the plotters "intended to kill" Ayatollah Khomeini. "And then, pretending to avenge his death," the statement said, the plotters would "carry out a bloody purge in the responsible organs and revolutionary institutions and finally seize power."

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He was arrested in 1980 for criticizing Islamic fundamentalists but released

Despite Size of Target, Reagan's Navy Expansion Plan Is Sailing Past Critics

By Richard Halloran
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Reagan administration has proposed to Congress the most ambitious program for naval expansion in the nation's peacetime history as an essential part of the president's plan to project U.S. military might around the globe.

So far, the Navy, despite being given a \$168 billion, five-year shipbuilding and aircraft procurement program that is the single most costly program in the plan, has escaped much of the rising criticism of the administration's proposed increases in military spending and the global strategy behind them.

In the months ahead, however, the administration's program to provide the Navy with a 400-ship fleet and to acquire 1,900 aircraft is likely to undergo serious congressional scrutiny. Aircraft carriers at \$3.4 billion each and cruisers at \$1 billion apiece may tempt those seeking large cuts at one stroke.

The administration has put on a hard sell for its program, led by the outspoken secretary of the Navy, John F. Lehman Jr. He has been blunt in congressional testimony. "Clear maritime superiority must be reacquired," he said. "This is not a debatable strategy. It is a national objective, a security imperative."

Arguments of that sort, congressional officials said, appear to have led to a conviction

that the Navy must be expanded and to members of Congress being unwilling to oppose a particular weapons program solely on the ground of cost.

Congressional staff members, both those who work for supporters of the Navy and those employed by advocates of cuts, have been surprised at the lack of widespread opposition to the administration's naval program. They cited a 10-5 vote by which a proposal to cut an aircraft carrier failed in the Senate Armed Services Committee and a 16-1 vote by which the overall Pentagon budget measure was approved by the committee.

The naval budget for the fiscal year that starts Oct. 1 has gone through only the usually sympathetic Armed Services Committees in each house, however, with the more skeptical Appropriations Committees and floor fights still to come. Opponents of the administration, such as Sen. Gary Hart, Democrat of Colorado, who is a leader of a military reform caucus, said, "We have just begun in fight."

In the administration's naval plan by the Congressional Budget Office, which seeks to do nonpartisan research, may give critics new ammunition. "The Congress should consider carefully the longer-term budgetary implications of the Navy's shipbuilding program and assess whether the Navy's strategy, and the shipbuilding program

derived from that strategy, is the best basis on which to proceed with naval modernization," the budget office said.

In a report issued early this month, the budget office suggested that the administration's budget for naval expansion was insufficient for the ambitious missions assigned to the Navy. The researchers said it would take an average of \$25 billion a year in shipbuilding alone, as against less than \$20 billion allotted by the administration.

In his annual report to the Congress, Secretary of Defense Caspar W. Weinberger said, "The logical implication of a global strategy, combined with the need to defend our interests and support our forces in distant parts of the world, lead to a clear need for increased United States naval power."

Change of Mission

The administration's maritime strategy makes the Navy responsible for perhaps the most fundamental change in its mission since World War II. The naval forces would be designed to sustain battle at sea for a long period, reversing the concept of a short war on which naval forces had been assembled, trained, and supplied under earlier administrations.

Adm. Harry D. Train 2d, the commander of U.S. and allied naval forces in the Atlantic, has

told Congress, "It will do us little good to win the first few battles if the Soviets can simply outlast us."

To control the air over the sea, the administration wants to increase the number of battle groups centered on aircraft carriers to 15 from 13, each at a cost of \$19 billion for a large nuclear powered carrier, the aircraft arm and escort ships to protect it.

Under the water, the administration wants to add 17 nuclear-powered attack submarines for a total of 95, counting retirements, by 1987. Shortly after, the Navy wants the total to reach 100.

Under the administration's new maritime strategy, the Navy's wartime missions would include these elements:

- Sending carrier battle groups into Soviet waters so that naval aviators can deliver retaliatory strikes on Soviet targets.

- Bottling up Soviet fleets by closing what sailors call "choke points," such as the exit from the Baltic Sea, through which Soviet ships must pass to the open sea.

- Fighting Soviet ships, particularly submarines, if they reach the open seas, either in the Atlantic or the Pacific.

- Projecting U.S. access to raw materials and fuel, especially oil, and the sea lanes over which those products are shipped to the United States.

• Supporting the Rapid Deployment Force if it is dispatched to the Gulf region or elsewhere.

To acquire the capability to accomplish those tasks, the administration has asked in the budget for the fiscal year beginning Oct. 1 for \$83.6 billion, a 27 percent increase over this year's naval budget, as the next big step in its plan to enlarge the fleet from 514 ships this year to 610 ships by 1990.

Over the next five years, the Navy has asked for authority to build 133 warships, including two nuclear powered aircraft carriers beyond the one currently under construction and 56 other major combatants. The Navy has also asked for authority to convert or do major overhauls on 16 more ships, including three battleships. Older ships would be retired to bring the final strength to 610 ships.

The shipbuilding and related costs would come to \$96.3 billion. On top of that, the requested authority to buy the 1917 aircraft would come to \$71.1 billion. That is in 1983 dollars and does not take inflation into account.

Outside Congress, criticism of the administration's naval program has come from several directions. Some military analysts have asserted that the administration's naval program lacks a justifying strategy. Others argue that the strategy is wrong. Still others contend that

proposed naval budgets are inadequate to execute the strategy.

Among the leading critics has been Edward N. Luttwak, a conservative military consultant at the Center for Strategic and International Studies at Georgetown University here.

In a recent article, Mr. Luttwak said: "We cannot hope to regain our naval power just by building ships. It is so much easier to deny the use of the sea than to assure safe passage that for each unit of resources the Soviet Navy spends we might have to spend 10 more. It is only by strategy that the unfavorable exchange can be avoided."

William R. Van Cleave, the director of defense and strategic studies at the University of California, has argued that the administration has planned to buy ships vulnerable to Soviet nuclear weapons. He wrote recently that the Navy "is moving to a very small number of highly lucrative targets."

On the other side of the political spectrum, Jeffrey Record, an advocate of sea power at the Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis and an adviser to Sen. Hart, has been critical of the administration's concept of widely dispersed retaliatory strikes. He said in a recent article: "Against the Soviet Union, deliberate escalation of a war is a recipe for defeat. It violates the fundamental axiom of concentration by dispersing limited forces in the face of a larger and more compact adversary."

U.S. Religious Groups Gathering Momentum In Anti-Nuclear Drive

By Kenneth A. Briggs
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The decision by the Rev. Billy Graham, one of the best-known religious figures in the United States, to address an international conference on disarmament in Moscow next month adds a powerful force to the growing campaign by church leaders to end the nuclear arms race.

Opposition has also arisen among Mormons who once approved the military policies of a succession of administrations.

Edwin B. Firmage, professor of law at the University of Utah, who served a term as a Mormon bishop, wrote in the latest issue of "Christianity and Crisis," an independent journal: "The present escalation in nuclear weapons between ourselves and the Soviet Union, together with the spread of nuclear weapons technology to other states, is an ultimate act of idolatry, a reliance on false gods that cannot save us but will insure our destruction."

Several themes are involved in the religious protest, but the binding one is the perceived need for a freeze on nuclear armaments. Some more ardent participants feel the call for the bilateral freeze does not go far enough and insist on a bolder unilateral move by the United States. Others feel cautious about going even this far in a move that cannot save us but will insure our destruction.

In interviews, some of the religious organizers explain that President Reagan's insistence that a U.S. freeze is needed to meet the Soviet Union's growing military power awoke many religious people to the real threat of nuclear war.

Until this administration, they said, the concept of nuclear danger seemed more remote and theoretical. The government's hard-line policies, the organizers said, made the use of nuclear weapons seem more likely and thus precipitated moral crises for many church members.

Appeals for a Freeze

In general, churches have done more than other institutions to carry the anti-nuclear campaign along, and their convictions seem to be deepening.

Twenty Christian denominations have appealed for an immediate bilateral arms freeze. Both the liberal Unitarian Church and the Reformed Church in America, an old-line Calvinist denomination with roots in 16th-century Dutch Reformed tradition, have sent letters supporting a freeze to each of their member churches.

Peace activists from the Netherlands, West Germany and Britain, drew large crowds recently at anti-nuclear rallies in Seattle, San Francisco, Salt Lake City, Denver, Philadelphia, Washington and other cities.

Earlier this month, 35 religious leaders from around the world urged support for the United Nations' special session on disarmament, which is scheduled to begin June 6.

A measure of the commitment by religious figures can be gained by noting the people whose criticism of U.S. military policy is unusual. For example, Cardinal John Krol, the conservative archbishop

of Philadelphia, addressed more than 15,000 people at an anti-nuclear rally and called the administration's plans for increasing U.S. nuclear strength "an irrational and suicidal" means of keeping peace.

Underlying the religious anti-nuclear battle is a basic moral issue that has been most clearly defined by Catholics: the growing conviction that the very possession of nuclear weapons is immoral and that of limited nuclear war is not only absurd but blasphemous.

Cardinal Krol echoed that view in his speech in Philadelphia. Rejecting the view that proponents of disarmament are "bright-eyed visionaries who ignore harsh current realities," he said that "the right to legitimate self-defense is not a moral justification for unleashing massive destruction against innocent noncombatants."

Hans Brauser, youth secretary of the West German trade union federation, said in Dortmund that the marchers' goal was "reconciliation instead of deterrence, disarmament instead of armament."

Richard B. Dingman, executive director of the study group, said the report was prepared to alert conservatives to the activities of environmentalists. He said the only unfavorable reaction he had received was from Rep. Robert E. Badham, a California Republican who is the committee's new chairman. "He told me, 'I think you were a bit too strident in your language,'" Mr. Dingman said.

Bipartisan Issue

Traditionally, environmental protection has been a bipartisan issue. Many members of environmental groups are Republicans. But the actions of the Reagan administration have set it increasingly at odds with environmental groups.

The report, the group says, have infiltrated academia, used the media and "fraudulently manipulated the courts in a fashion that legitimizes illegitimate energy advocacy programs and defrauds the government and the poor."

"This specter of environmentalism haunts America by threatening to inhibit natural resource development and economic growth," the report says. "Failure to recognize this and to respond accordingly compromises the natural resource development objectives supported by a majority of the American public."

The 13-page report was circulated as an "information service" by the committee, a caucus of Republican conservatives that includes 54 of the party's 192 House mem-



United Press International
Protesters against nuclear weapons march through Munich during one of the peace rallies.

Thousands of West Germans March In Nationwide Easter Peace Rallies

From Agency Dispatches

FRANKFURT — Thousands of West Germans continued Easter-day marches Sunday, the third day of nationwide protests against nuclear arms.

In the Ruhr industrial area, organizers estimated that about 20,000 demonstrators marched toward the city of Bochum. A final rally protesting nuclear arms and the stationing of further NATO medium-range missiles was scheduled in nearby Dortmund for Monday.

Another 20,000 people marched on the center of Frankfurt, organizers said, where a mass rally was scheduled for late Sunday. About 7,000 opponents of nuclear arms assembled in Stuttgart. In Bavaria, about 40 small rallies were reported; about 2,500 people took part in the major Bavarian rally in Munich on Saturday.

The organizers of the marches estimated that more than 150,000 people demonstrated Saturday, with the biggest rally in Hamburg, 50,000 participants; Bielefeld, 20,000; Bremen, 12,000, and Duisburg, 10,000. Police reported no incidents at the demonstrations.

Unilateral Steps

On Friday night, a regional leader of Chancellor Helmut Schmidt's Social Democratic Party called for unilateral steps toward disarmament. Oskar Lafontaine, party chairman for Saarland, said a mass rally youth rally in Dortmund that the call was to both East and West Germany. He said the idea of nuclear balance had become senseless because of "total overarmament."

Mr. Lafontaine, declaring support for peace movements in the United States and East Germany, said that people in power must recognize that "a generation is growing up that does not want in burn in an atomic holocaust."

Hans Brauser, youth secretary of the West German trade union federation, said in Dortmund that the marchers' goal was "reconciliation instead of deterrence, disarmament instead of armament."

Although he said the United States like the Soviet Union was securing its sphere of influence through force, he declared: "We are not anti-American." Hundreds in the audience shouted back: "Yes, we are."

Trident Protest in Glasgow

GLASGOW (AP) — Anti-nuclear demonstrators estimated by organizers at more than 15,000 marched through Glasgow on Saturday to protest the British government's decision to buy the new U.S. Trident nuclear missile system.

The missile-carrying submarines would be based near Glasgow. Demonstrations against nuclear weapons were also held in London, where about 2,000 people marched, and 14 other British towns and cities. Police said the marches were orderly.

The Tridents are intended to replace Britain's aged Polaris nuclear submarines. The system, whose cost is estimated at \$7.5 billion (about \$13 billion), would not go into service until the mid-1990s and would last until 2020. Defense

Secretary John Nott said earlier this year.

Critics say drastic paring of Britain's conventional defenses would be required in order to meet the high cost of the Trident.

Chicago Rally Draws 14,000

CHICAGO — At least 14,000 people marched through downtown Chicago on Saturday in support of a growing movement for an immediate freeze on U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. The marchers of the rally estimated the crowd at 50,000 and police said there were 30,000.

Thousands March to Vatican

VATICAN CITY (AP) — Tens of thousands of people led by three Nobel prize winners and the Communist mayor of Rome marched through Rome to the Vatican on Sunday in an Easter rally for peace and against hunger. The organizers of the march estimated the crowd at 50,000 and police said there were 30,000.

The Reagan administration has rejected a freeze on nuclear weapons at current levels, saying this would solidify what it sees as Soviet superiority.

United States March to Vatican

CHICAGO — At least 14,000 people marched through downtown Chicago on Saturday in support of a growing movement for an immediate freeze on U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. The marchers of the rally estimated the crowd at 50,000 and police said there were 30,000.

The problem will never go away completely, but we must aim for zero defects," said a highly placed aviation official, who declined to be named.

The order was the fourth in three years to be issued by the agency in an attempt to deal with a particularly hazardous condition that has turned up after an extended period of operation of the GE engine, which generates about 50,000 pounds of thrust.

On three occasions, a 150-pound (about 70-kilogram) high-pressure turbine disk, rotating at more than 10,000 revolutions per minute, has broken apart, throwing fragments outward. In the most recent case, on March 17, the breakup set fire to an Air France twin-engine Airbus at San's Airport in North Yemen. Rapid firefighting action enabled all 124 persons on board to escape.

It was this accident that led to the latest FAA order. Under a schedule that will become progressively tighter, turbine disks will be subject to sophisticated periodic inspections every 750 flights, or twice as often as is now required.

Other problems with the same engine have led to five other instances of partial disintegration since 1978, according to the British magazine Flight International. But the basic defect has not been so serious as the problem with the high-pressure disk.

Rolls-Royce's comparable engine, the RB-211, has suffered from the magazine calls "major uncontrollable disintegration" on four occasions. It is the power plant for most of the world's three-engine L-1011 TriStars. Pratt & Whitney's JT-9D, used on Boeing 747s and some DC-10s, is reported to have had 13 breaks.

But none appears to have been as hazardous as the breakup that caused the accident in Yemen or one of those involving a Rolls-Royce RB-211. The disparity in figures for the three engines is partly explained by differences in the time they have been in service.

A FAA directive requires pilots to shut down Rolls-Royce engines immediately if engine-vibration meters in the cockpit register above a certain level.

The administration estimates

that the problem will never go away completely, but we must aim for zero defects," said a highly placed aviation official, who declined to be named.

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First Blast in Europe

Already under heavy fire on issues of arms and arms control, the Reagan administration now faces an additional challenge on the nuclear front. Writing in Foreign Affairs magazine, four national security veterans — McGeorge Bundy, George F. Kennan, Robert S. McNamara and Gerard Smith — urge renouncing the traditional U.S. doctrine permitting, but not obliging, the first use of nuclear weapons in Europe against an overwhelming conventional attack.

They would have the United States pledge not to use nuclear weapons in Europe unless an aggressor had already done so. Secretary of State Haig responded a day before the article appeared, and thus the debate is joined.

It is important to note that leaving open the possibility of a nuclear response to a Soviet conventional attack in Europe, as the doctrine of "flexible response" does, is very different from asserting that such a response would surely come or even from planning or supporting the idea of one. The difference is essential. It gives Europeans the assurance they demand that their homelands will not instantly become a nuclear battlefield and, at the same time, warns a potential aggressor not to count on a quick victory based on American nuclear restraint. Ambiguity is at the heart of this doctrine, but it has successfully served its purpose of deterrence since NATO found "massive retaliation" no longer credible to the Europeans and shelved it 15 years ago. What is the case now for review?

The first reason, acknowledged by Secretary Haig, is the gravity of the issue.

The second is that the numbers have changed: Not only is the U.S. tactical and strategic edge gone, but on both sides nuclear arsenals have expanded with no limit in sight. It is widely accepted now, even by the Reagan administration, that a nuclear war could escape control. Under public pressure, the administration is moving to the realistic position that a full-scale nuclear war would be an unspeakable calamity from which no winners could emerge. Likely escalation, certain devastation — is the American threat to meet a Soviet conventional attack with nuclear weapons still a plausible and credible deterrent? That is the key question.

Washington says yes, arguing that flexible response soars the Soviets, preserves the alliance and gives a basis for arms reductions.

THE WASHINGTON POST

The critics say no, contending that a no-first-use doctrine, accompanied by a buildup of NATO conventional forces, would better serve deterrence, seal the alliance's nuclear cracks, "help in our relations with the Soviet Union" and ease arms control.

We feel the burden remains on the critics to show how a second-use-only doctrine would leave the United States more secure. No doubt, for instance, Mr. Haig exaggerates when he suggests that a declaration of no-first-use would require the United States to "reintroduce the draft, triple the size of its armed forces and put its economy on a wartime footing." Yet some greater effort would surely be needed, and not only in America but in Europe, where the Foreign Affairs authors concede, it is a question whether the allies have the political will.

Then, these authors appear to have a particular view of the Kremlin: "The Soviet government is already aware of the awful risk inherent in any use of these weapons, and there is no current or prospective Soviet 'superiority' that would tempt anyone in Moscow toward nuclear adventurism... We can escape from the notion that we must somehow match everything the rocket commanders in the Soviet Union extract from their government." Against this assurance of regularity must be set Mr. Haig's caution: "Let us remember, first and foremost, that we are trying to deter the Soviet Union, not ourselves. The dynamic nature of the Soviet nuclear buildup demonstrates that the Soviet leaders do not believe in the concept of 'sufficiency.' They are not likely to be deterred by a force based upon it."

Mr. Haig ignores the fact that the U.S. buildup, too, has shown a dynamic nature. He rejects too quickly the Nixon-Kissinger concept of sufficiency. Yet the critics, in their article, seem almost casual in their dismissal of Soviet adventurism. This is far from being the position of all these men in their other writings or utterances. But their collective inference in Foreign Affairs that Kremlin politicians are helpless against the intrigues of rocket commanders is strained, to put it mildly. Nevertheless, they are asking important questions, and it is not self-evident that standing government policy has anything like all the answers to them.

THE WASHINGTON POST

Iran on the Rebound

In the slow-motion war between Iran and Iraq, there is no American "side" and never was. But there are American interests, two of which could confusingly collide as the 18-month conflict nears some kind of climax.

Most obviously, the West has a stake in the independence and cohesion of Iran. With Soviet legions installed in Afghanistan, Iran is an even more important barrier to the extension of Soviet influence in the Gulf. From that vantage, Iran's respectable military showing is good news.

But a triumphant Iran run by the leaders of an intolerant sect can itself be expansionist and troublesome. That explains the heightened anxiety of the Gulf sheikhs and Jordan and Saudi Arabia as they attempt to shore up the resistance of Iraq's faltering regime. Hence, too, their split with Syria, Iraq's rival and Iran's supporter in this conflict.

No great issue of principle caused Iraq to invade Iran. The two countries have long disputed control of the Shatt al-Arab waterway, Iraq thought it could seize the waterway while Iran was in turmoil. It guessed wrong, lost the battle of attrition, and is now threatened with a counterinvasion. Iran fought back well with weapons and spare parts from an odd collection of sources, including Israel.

THE NEW YORK TIMES

Other Opinion

More on the Falklands/Malvinas

The hour has come to put into order our ideas and concepts of a world balance which is ceaselessly at the mercy of the initiatives of those who have no law but force.

The red warning light of the Falklands has lit up in the glacial atmosphere of the antarctic. Have no doubt that Washington and above all, Moscow, will find the means to blow hot and cold there, and if possible, to take advantage of the situation.

— From *Le Figaro* (Paris).

The crisis facilitates Soviet penetration of South America.

— From *Il Tempo* (Rome).

It is probably the prospect of oil reserves... that precipitated the Argentine invasion — a move that has met with worldwide criticism. The consensus appears to be that the dispute should be resolved through diplomatic means.

That would probably have been a wise

course for Argentina to follow. As the matter stands, Britain is now not likely to settle for anything less than total withdrawal of Argentine troops, a loss of face that President (Leopoldo) Galtieri cannot afford any more than he can afford a British victory.

— From *The Daily Nation* (Nairobi).

The Colonialist intentions of both Argentina and Britain and the weakness of their prey must not be allowed to cloud the right of the Falkland islanders to choose which master to serve — if they do not desire immediate independence. It is to be hoped that diplomacy will prevail over militarism in this sad affair.

— From *The Salisbury Herald* (Zimbabwe).

The United Kingdom must accept it is no longer the world power it was.

Britons still think the arrival of some warships flying (her majesty's) flag will be enough to put the invader to flight. But that is not so likely, no matter what international pressure is put on Argentina."

— From *El País* (Madrid).

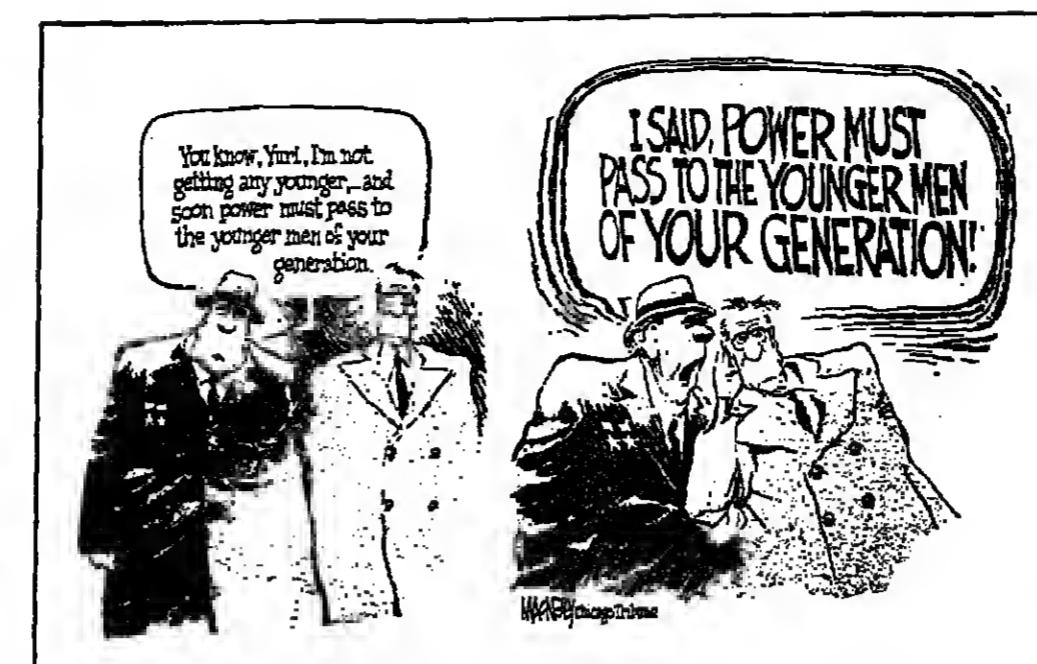
April 12: From Our Pages of 75 and 50 Years Ago

1907: 'Monstrous Placards'

NEW YORK — The Herald comments in an editorial: "What is the use of employing trained architects to design the facades of buildings and spending millions to make them pleasing to the eye if they are plastered all over with monstrous placards and hideous advertising structures? Striving to outdo one another to catch public attention, the creators of these eyesores have resorted to more and more sensational devices and colors and increased the size of their signs on the fronts and roofs of buildings until some of the most central and otherwise beautiful portions of the city look like a country fair. These monstrous structures not only ruin the appearance of the city but are a menace to life."

1932: Hindenburg Re-elected

BERLIN — Marshal Paul von Hindenburg was re-elected to the presidency of the German republic by a clear majority of more than 2 million votes. The polling, a runoff vote necessitated by the 84-year-old veteran's failure to win a clear majority, was demanded by the constitution, in the regular election held March 13 last, represented an increase in the support both for the incumbent and for his chief opponent, Adolf Hitler, despite the fact that the ballots were approximately a million less than a month ago. Nationwide surprise was evoked by the gains of Hitler, who advocates reshaping the German state on the Fascist pattern and whose star was believed to have been definitely on the wane.



Reasons for PLO Entry Into Talks

By David Lamb

BEIRUT — The U.S. State Department uses the term "clientelis" to describe the bias that besets many diplomats who have served a long time in a post and who gradually become more defenders than analysts of the host government's policies.

This has frequently put the Foreign Service officer in the field at loggerheads with his superiors back home and can also put him in the uncomfortable position of having to support U.S. policies that he believes do not serve the best interests of his country.

In the Arab world it is not surprising that many diplomats display what might appear to be a case of clientelis when they say that Washington needs to re-evaluate its Middle East policy and start a dialogue with the Palestine Liberation Organization.

What is surprising, though, is that this opinion is expressed privately and in off-the-record conversations, by virtually every Western diplomat a journalist meets in the Middle East, outside Israel. Without such a dialogue, they say, there can be no eventual solution to the Palestinian problem and thus no permanent formula for peace in the Middle East.

"I think every rational political analyst realizes that the time has come to talk to the PLO," a senior American diplomat in Cairo said. "Like it or not, the PLO is here to stay."

A Western envoy in Beirut whose country is one of Washington's closest allies adds: "It is childish for Washington to think Israel is its best friend and Syria its worst enemy because one is an Arab Communist and one is pro-Communist. The Arab countries will not go Communist as long as they have a chance for reasonable relations with the West."

Those advocating dialogue with the PLO usually make four points to justify their position. They say:

• The PLO has only two options: It can use guns or it can use diplomacy. Since the outrages that culminated with the massacre of 11 Israeli athletes at the Munich Olympics in 1972, the PLO is increasingly basing its policy on diplomacy and that posture must be encouraged and rewarded.

• The PLO leadership is distinctly bourgeois in character, and it is a great deal easier to deal with doctors, engineers and attorneys than with professional ideologues. There is no heir apparent to PLO Chairman Yasser Arafat and if he were killed or missed, control could shift from the moderates — a relative term in this case — to the radicals.

• The PLO does not represent a threat to the existence of Israel. Countries such as Syria perhaps do but the PLO, with 25,000 guerrillas under arms in Lebanon, lacks the military capability to mount anything more than terrorist strikes in Israel and certainly is no match for the Israeli Army.

• The PLO, which President Reagan called a "gang of thugs" in his first policy statement on the Middle East, holds one of the keys to the course of history in this part of the Arab world. To pretend that the PLO does not exist only hampers Washington's attempts to negotiate a workable peace plan.

Although Washington has had limited, secret contacts with the PLO for at least eight years, Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger promised Israel in writing in 1975 that the United States would not recognize or negotiate with the PLO so long as the organization refused to accept Israel's right to exist as stipulated in UN Resolutions 242 and 338.

There seems little likelihood, however, that Arafat will acquiesce to American demands and recognize the legitimacy of the Jewish state. To do so would be to lose the only real card Arafat has to play, the only card that gives him bargaining leverage.

On April 25, Israel is scheduled to return to Egypt the last portion of the Sinai Peninsula captured in the 1967 war. The next step in the Camp David peace process will be to resume the autonomy talks that are meant to lead to Palestinian self-determination in the Israeli-occupied lands.

But those stalled talks have been held without Palestinian participation, and recent events in the occupied West Bank are not likely to aid the development of an acceptable system of autonomy.

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REGARDING HAL PIPER'S "SNAPS OF MOSCOW" (IHT March 20-21) ON Soviet air travel.

Piper is offended by a nude guardian of the "Mother and Child Room" at Moscow airport, as well as by Soviet air crews. At least the mother and child, in his case, were allowed to use the room.

Travelling recently with my 6-month-old infant, I bought a full fare roundtrip ticket on SAS between Copenhagen and Stockholm (an extremely expensive per-mile route). Stockholm-Arlanda — a brand new airport has closed down its Mother and Child Room completely. In Copenhagen, a request for some sort of carriage (one allowed on board) to wheel my baby several hundred meters to the boarding gate was met with directions to walk nearly halfway to the gate where I was offered, begrudgingly, a wire supermarket shopping cart. Once on the plane, for the one-hour flight, all my requests to the SAS crew for assistance with my infant after takeoff — for example, while I used the restroom — were ignored.

ABOUT A MONTH AGO, THE IHT BUSINESS SECTION CARRIED AN INTERVIEW WITH HAN CARLSON, SAS MANAGING DIRECTOR, WHEREIN IT WAS NOTED THE SAS HAD DISTRIBUTED TO ITS EMPLOYEES A COMIC BOOK-STYLE PAMPHLET URGING THEM TO BE MORE CONSIDERATE TO CUSTOMERS. IN THE INTERVIEW CARLSON PROMOTED THE EXERCISE AS A SUCCESS. AS A BUSINESS-WOMAN TRAVELING FREQUENTLY, ALTHOUGH WITHOUT INFANT, IN SINAI — WHERE SAS HAS A NEAR MONOPOLY — I CAN ASSURE MR. CARLSON THAT, AT LEAST, HE HAS SEEN NO EVIDENCE OF THIS SUCCESS. I SUGGEST HE TAKE A SECOND LOOK AND TRY USING MORE ADULT TRAINING METHODS. HE MIGHT ALSO TRY BORROWING AND INFLAT AND FLYING ON AIR FRANCE, WHERE THE SERVICE, ON THE GROUND AND IN THE AIR, IS SUPERB. OTHERWISE, SAS MAY SOON RESEMBLE AIRFRONT.

ELIZABETH THOMAS.

DENMARK.

CRISIS POSSIBLE

OR IMAGINE THE SITUATION IF THE UNITED STATES NO LONGER HAD AUTOMATIC ACCESS TO THE MEDITERRANEAN AND BALTIC WITHIN ITS ACCESS TO THE GULF AND THE RED SEA, AND PASSENGE RSHIP ON THE STRAITS OF MALACCA, SINGAPORE, LOMBOK AND SUNDAM. THE CHANCES OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE MOMENT OF ANXIETY, DECIDING TO PUSH ASIDE ONE OF THE LESS POWERFUL NATIONS INVOLVED IS REAL. AT HEART, IT COULD BE ANOTHER SUEZ-TYPE CRISIS, AT WORST A CONFLICT BETWEEN THE SUPERPOWERS AS THE OTHER SIDE FEELS COMPelled TO MAKE A STAND ON THE PART OF THE INJURED PARTY.

IN RETURN FOR THESE CONCESSIONS ON FREE TRANSIT, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THE SMALLER, POORER, LANDLOCKED NATIONS OF THE WORLD HAVE DEMANDED A PRICE FROM THE RICHER, LARGER AND SEA-BOUNDED NATIONS. IT IS THE RIGHT OF ACCESS TO THE VAST MINERAL DEPOSITS THAT LIE ON THE FLOOR OF THE OCEAN OUTSIDE THE 200-MILE ECONOMIC ZONES.

THE PROBLEM HAS BEEN TO DEFINE A SYSTEM THAT BALANCES THE NEEDS AND EXPECTATIONS OF THE LARGE WESTERN MINING COMPANIES AGAINST THE DESIRE OF THIRD WORLD NATIONS TO FEEL THAT THE WILL NOT BE CROWDED OUT FOR LACK OF EXPERTISE.

AFTER MUCH NEGOTIATING, THE CONFERENCE CAME UP WITH THE CONCEPT OF THE INTERNATIONAL SEALED AUTHORITY WHICH WOULD SUPERVISE THE MINING OF THE OCEAN FLOOR UNDER A FORM OF DUAL AUTHORITY.

PART OF THE OCEAN WOULD BE OWNED BY AN INTERNATIONAL BODY CALLED THE "ENTERPRISE," OPERATING ON BEHALF OF THE LESS TECHNOLOGICALLY DEVELOPED NATIONS. AND PART WOULD BE OWNED BY PRIVATE MINING COMPANIES. IT IS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TWO WINGS OF THE AUTHORITY, THAT IS THE MAJOR UNRESOLVED STUMBLING BLOCK.

NO ONE WOULD CLAIM THAT RESOLVING THE POINTS STILL IN DISPUTE IS AN EASY TASK. THE SEAS AND THE OCEAN THAT SURROUND US, SOME TWO-THIRDS OF OUR PLANET, ARE LAWFLESS, BUT LAISsez FAIRE NO LONGER SUITS OUR TIMES. THE LAW OF THE SEA, IF FINALLY APPROVED, COULD BE A MAGNA CARTA FOR THE 21ST CENTURY. FOR SUCH AN ACHIEVEMENT, BOTH SIDES SHOULD BE PREPARED TO GO THE EXTRA MILE.

THE WRITER IS EDITORIAL ADVISOR TO THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION ON DISARMAMENT AND SECURITY ISSUES.

International Law And the Falklands

By William Pfaff

This is the second article of a two-part series.

PARIS — The government of the United States, which shut down its code-breaking office in 1929 because "gentlemen do not read each other's mail," has come a long way, learning in its turn to disregard bourgeois morality and international law. Others follow: for example: India in its unscrupulous seizure of Goa in 1961 and its detachment of Bangladesh from Pakistan in 1971; China in undeclared wars against India and Vietnam; Colonel Qaddafi's Libya; Iraq in invading Iran; Iran in kidnapping U.S. diplomats; both sides in what they have done to dismember Lebanon.

Yet international law, feeble as it is, the negotiation or adjudication of disputes, remains among the few safeguards we possess against anarchy, war and barbarism. Harold Nicolson, in his book on diplomacy, remarked of coups d'etat and seizures of territory (he had to mind the Austrian annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908) that, eminently successful as they may be at the time, they leave a destructive legacy of resentment, fear and search for revenge. The Argentines have nursed their grievance over the loss of the Falklands for a century and a half, and they finally did something about it. In the Bosnian case, "doing something about it" led directly to the destruction of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and much else, by way of the assassination of Archduke Francis Ferdinand by the Bosnian patriot.

But that makes merely a practical case against aggressions. The legal argument is abstract, and international "law" is itself a convention among nations, since there is no law-giving authority which nations are prepared to recognize. Civil or criminal law can be defined without leaving it weakened or diminished.

Convention is something else. If it is defined, it ceases to exist. The "laws" of war and international relations, the conventions of diplomacy, have no authority behind them. They exist because they are accepted. When they are no longer accepted they cease to exist.

The great powers may one day bitterly regret their casual defiance of international law. The smaller powers have more urgent reason to respect that law, since their survival depends upon respect for the convention that they have the right to exist. Without the convention that they are sovereign states, why shouldn't the big powers take what they want, and do what they please? The small countries ordinarily do not have the power themselves, to stop them. If Argentina miscalculates that Britain is too feeble or too demoralized to defend its South Atlantic possession, and seizes the Falklands, why shouldn't the United States do so? Why is *yanqui* imperialism and aggression worse than Argentine? The generals who govern or misgovern Argentina today are too dense to understand that. The men they have appointed to rule the Falklands is Luciano Benjamín Méndez, the man who, as commander of the 3d Army Corps in Cordoba during the dictatorship of General Videla lent his support to the so-called death squads, and said to a journalist, "While Videla governs, I kill." That provides a sufficient reason to recoil from the Argentine seizure of the islands; but it is a particular objection, implying that if Argentina were not a military dictatorship, and did not appoint such men to such posts, what has happened might be tolerable.

The truth is otherwise, in the breaking of an international principle, done at the onset with enthusiasm and conviction and only afterward seen as cracking one of those slender props which the past has provided to sustain the future.

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Easing the U.S. Stand On Soviet Oil Pipeline

By Nathaniel Samuels

NEW YORK — The Reagan administration ought to soften its opposition to the proposed Siberian natural-gas pipeline to Western Europe, and the extent of the financial risks undertaken, by convincing themselves that the Russian bear, while not benign, harbors no uncontrollable urge to stray westward. This outlook is obviously contrary to widespread U.S. opinion and is entirely rejected by the Reagan administration.

In light of the strong European support for the pipeline and deep-seated American concern about the extent of European financial accommodations involved, the United

Bic and Gillette — 'a Real Hate Relationship' — Intensify Their Cutthroat Competition

By Nathaniel C. Nash
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Bic and Gillette are at it again. Like two alley cats, the companies will not stop, having bantered steadily for seven years over the market for throwaway pens and shavers. But the heat of the conflict has been rising of late.

Bic Pens, which made its name in 19-cent ballpoint pens and held up to 80 percent of the U.S. market, has been losing market share steadily over the last three years to Gillette and its Wile Bros. pen line. Many office suppliers now say that they are selling almost as many Wile Bros. pens as Bic.

So Bic hit at the heart of Gillette's profit-making center — razors and blades — with a disposable single-edged razor.

Last month Bic started a multimillion-dollar advertising campaign in which it challenges the claim that Gillette's double-edged Trac II shaves closer than Bic's single-edged razor. Using an electron microscope, touting what it calls

independent clinical tests and displaying rather unsightly images of whiskers shorn by both a Trac II and a Bic, the ad claims that both cut equally close, but that the Bic is 23 cents less at retail.

Gillette's response was immediate. The company called the Bic ad "false and deceptive," and within three weeks it hit with its own ad, featuring the line "Guys, we've got some good news and some bad news." The good news, of course, is Gillette's superior shave, and the bad news is Bic's inferior product.

Jeffrey D. Aschenberg, an analyst at L.F. Rothschild, Unterberg, Towbin, said, "Bic and Gillette have a real hate relationship. It is much more than your normal market competitiveness."

To such observations, Gillette and Bic plead a certain innocence. Gillette executives decline to talk about the rivalry, except to say that their latest razor ad was in the works long before Bic's appeared and that they intend to aggressively protect their markets.

Bic is a little more forthcoming. "People try to make this into a personal thing, and it just isn't," said Bruno Bich, the new president of Bic Pen and the son of Marcel L. Bich, the founder of Bic's \$700-million French parent, Société Bic.

"I don't know what Gillette's so upset about," said Mr. Bich. "I just want a small piece of the razor market. Why doesn't Gillette come out with an ad against Schick?" he said, referring to the industry's No. 2 company.

Perhaps the most disconcerting thing to Bic has been its declining share in the stick-pen business, which accounted for about a third of \$217.7 million in sales last year. Pens have historically been its money-maker. And that declining market share comes on top of a year that saw profits drop to \$8.2 million, from \$12.3 million in 1980.

The company lost money in razors and made only \$3.2 million in pens, compared with \$15.8 million in 1980. The poor earnings were the result of high interest rates, plus Gillette's persis-

tence in keeping pen prices down, and the promotional cost of \$10 million for the company's new rolling ball pen.

Mr. Bich, who is 35, seems mildly amused and confident at taking on the \$2.3-billion Gillette, said, "One thing I know is that both of us are making very little money in the pen business."

Bic is still ahead of Gillette's Write Bros., claiming a 60-percent market share. But analysts and office suppliers say that lead is steadily dwindling.

Bic, typically, is fighting back. Rather than following Gillette's price cuts, it has quietly been marketing a new line of stick pen, called the Biro — a pen that, interestingly enough, looks much like Gillette's. Mr. Bich noted that the company can make the Biro available to retailers at a lower price than the Gillette pen, while maintaining a normal profit margin.

With the stick pen representing a \$10-million industry last year, Bic's big guns are in razors, a \$630-million market last year. In

blades, Bic has about 11 percent of the market, compared to Gillette's 60-percent share.

While it has considerable expertise from overseas markets controlled by its parent company, Bic has lost money in razors from the beginning in the United States, suffering a total of \$15 million in red ink over the last three years. But analysts agree that Gillette has good reason to consider Bic's move soberly.

Mr. Aschenberg said, "For all of its troubles, Bic is outstanding at getting good consumer identification for low-price, high-turnover, mass-marketed goods in a short time."

Indeed, Bic is known for its high degree of automation and ability to produce its products at very low cost.

Perhaps Gillette remembers all too well Bic's entrance into disposable cigarette lighters in 1973. Within four years Bic's model had passed Gillette's Cricket model. Currently, the Bic lighter is its most profitable line, and it sells for 10 percent above the price of the Cricket.

As to the eventual winner of this round of

rivalry, Jack L. Salzman, an analyst at Smith Barney Harris Upham, doubts Bic will be triumphant.

"What if Gillette decides to start matching Bic in price in razors?" he said. "And even more perversely, what if Gillette begins a price war in lighters? It might hurt Gillette for a year, but it could set Bic back for five."

"Where Bic has failed has been in not staying abreast of the technological advancements in their products." The company puts a low-priced product on the market and just lets it sit, he explained.

By contrast, Gillette tends to hit regularly with new products, and has proved ready to adjust rapidly on the price front.

Mr. Salzman did offer a solution — a pricing truce across the board, as currently seems in effect for lighters.

It does not look likely at the moment, however, and at least one of the players seems to be counting on a continuation of the action. "It's like a long chess game," Mr. Bich said.

Falklands Crisis Cools Newfound Optimism For Britain's Economy

By Steven Rattner
New York Times Service

LONDON — British economists and government officials are concerned that the conflict with Argentina over the Falkland Islands may damage Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's economic strategy just as signs of an upturn are beginning to appear.

The concerns, which initially focused on the added military outlays, have broadened as the scope of the pound has fallen, the scope of the economic sanctions has become clear and Mrs. Thatcher's political difficulties have persisted.

Gavin Davies, chief domestic economist at Simon & Coates, a stock brokerage, said, "We're living on the precipice. It could get extremely serious very quickly, but it hasn't as yet got that serious."

The fear is that the added strain of the unforeseen expenditures and a possible crisis of political authority might upset the delicate balance of economic forces that has been achieved over the past two years by the Conservative Party's austerity policies.

The economic news lately has been good. Inflation has been dropping steadily, productivity rose sharply last year, and the economy has resumed expansion, increasing the hope of an end to mounting unemployment. Last Monday, for example, the *Financial Times* Monthly Survey of Business Opinion reported that a higher balance of those surveyed were optimistic about the future than at any time since the start of the recession.

Few experts are willing to predict that the Falkland problem will doom Mrs. Thatcher's program. But to all appearances, the trend toward optimism has been dealt a blow.

Most dealers attributed the drop in the pound to nervousness, which was also reflected last week in two particularly severe declines in stock market prices and a jump in short-term interest rates.

Nervousness Remained

By the end of the week, the fall of the pound appeared to have abated, but the nervousness remained. Dealers recalled the Suez crisis of 1956, when the pound began to fall and Britain was unable to borrow the foreign exchange needed to support it.

One banker said, "Sterling crises have been known to bring down governments."

He noted that, for the first time, Britain is facing a military confrontation without exchange controls to provide a measure of protection for its currency. At the same time the Bank of England has given indications that it is extremely reluctant to mount a sustained effort to hold the pound's value.

By far the most difficult development to measure is the damage to Mrs. Thatcher's political standing. Even if the prime minister remains the erosion of her political influence could be substantial enough to affect her ability to press on with the economic strategy.

The Times of London said last week, "The financial cost of a change of political leadership and direction would be incalculable."

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CURRENCY RATES

Interbank exchange rates for April 8/April 9, 1982, excluding bank service charges.

	S	E	D.J.M.	F.F.	H.L.	G.D.	S.P.	D.J.C.
Exch.	Exch.	Exch.	Exch.	Exch.	Exch.	Exch.	Exch.	Exch.
Amsterdam	2,487	4,788	11,685	42.45	30.28	5,859	120.54	22.25
Brussels (a)	45.70	80.35	18,995	7,225	5,700	17,944	320.00	55.00
Frankfurt	2,6215	4,255	11,685	42.45	30.28	5,859	120.54	22.25
London (b)	1,258	2,625	11,675	22,000	21,722	47,478	102.31	24.82
New York	1,259	2,625	11,675	22,000	21,722	47,478	102.31	24.82
Zurich	1,254	2,625	11,675	22,000	21,722	47,478	102.31	24.82
Salomon Brothers	1,105	2,143	11,675	22,000	21,722	47,478	102.31	24.82
Newmont Mining Co.	22.4	41	1,105	2,143	2,143	4,285	87.05	16.30
Hudson Bay Mining & Smelting	45	85	1,105	2,143	2,143	4,285	87.05	16.30

Market Turnover
Week Ended April 9
(Millions of U.S. Dollars)
Codel 4,927.3 3,909.6 1,017.7
Euroc. 13,875. 12,876. 999.

Total Exchange
Sterling: 1,211.1 Irish L.

(a) Commercial firms. (b) Amounts needed to buy one pound. (*) Units of 100. (x) Units of 1,000.

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Canucks Sweep Series; Kings Threaten Oilers

From Agency Dispatches

CALGARY — Alberta. — The Vancouver Canucks have become the first team to advance to the quarterfinals of the National Hockey League playoffs, trimming the Calgary Flames, 3-2, on Saturday to "sweep" their best-of-five opening round Stanley Cup series.

The Canucks, who finished the

regular season in second place in the Smythe Division, just two points ahead of Calgary, entered the playoffs unbeaten in nine games. They continued their hot play behind the goaltending of Richard Brodeur, who stopped 42 shots, two goals by Thomas Grasham and the game-winner by Dave (Tiger) Williams, who won Game 2 of the series with an overtime tally.

"It's a great feeling," Brodeur said. "Everyone is on a high right now."

The Canucks will meet the winner of the Edmonton-Los Angeles series. In Los Angeles on Saturday, the Kings stormed back from a 3-0 deficit in two periods to beat the Oilers, 6-5, in overtime on a goal by Daryl Evans. Los Angeles leads the series, 2-1, with Game 4 set for Monday night.

Wayne Gretzky had two goals and two assists as the Oilers grabbed their big lead. But the Kings came back and Steve Bozek scored from short range to tie it with five seconds remaining. Evans won it on a 33-foot slapshot 3:35 into overtime.

Rangers 4, Flyers 3

At Philadelphia, Cam Connor scored on a rebound with 1:09 remaining to lift the New York Rangers to a 4-3 comeback victory over Philadelphia. The Rangers rallied from a 3-0 deficit on goals by Mike Rogers, Rejo Roothsalainen and Don Maloney.

Sabres 5, Bruins 2

At Buffalo, N.Y., goals by Von Lambert, Craig Ramsay and Mike Foligno sparked a second-period rally that gave Buffalo a 5-2 victory over Boston and narrowed the Bruins' lead in the series to 2-1.

Nordiques 2, Canadiens 1

At Quebec, Dale Hunter scored two goals in a 72-second span to

works. In "Doubtfully combined and personal tragedy even better than a thriller novel," he writes. "The wise-cracks, the wife, the book. True a case with Doubtfully, the inquisitiveness that ease of despair — ok not quite his shortcomings, a daughter who seems to have for me as a child at 7:

China Demands Taiwan Give Up Softball Tournament

From Agency Dispatches

PEKING — China has demanded that an international women's softball championship, in which it had participated, be moved away from Taiwan.

The New China News Agency said China had sent a message to Don Porter, the general secretary of the International Softball Federation, supporting a Japanese proposal that the 5th world women's softball championship, scheduled for July, be relocated. The statement stopped short of saying whether China would send a team.

The Chinese position was taken because the Taiwanese softball authorities insisted on using the flag and national anthem of the Nationalist-ruled island, symbols that are unacceptable to Peking, it said.

The Chinese message also criticized Porter for having "neither refused nor negated" Taiwanese plans to use Nationalist symbols. It said, "There is no absolute assurance against the hoisting of Taiwan's so-called 'national' flag and playing of Taiwan's so-called national anthem."

The president of the International Olympic Committee, Juan Antonio Samaranch, said in Tokyo, meanwhile, that North Korea had hinted it may compete in the 1988 Olympic Games to be held in Seoul. He said a final decision was expected after the 1984 Los Angeles Games.

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Language

Depressing Thoughts

By William Safire

NEW YORK — When Alfred Kahn, Jimmy Carter's chief inflation fighter, used the political taboo word "depression" in a statement from the White House, the economist was pounced upon by assorted communication and soothing-savers; as a result, the hapless but happy man pledged to substitute the word "banana" for "depression" in any future economic message.

Here we are, five years later, and many people fear a deep, full-fledged banana.

"I don't want to start a panic," said Edward Yardeni of E.F. Hutton & Co. told The Wall Street Journal, "but I think there's a 30 percent chance of a depression occurring."

ABC's Sam Donaldson asked Sen. Edward Kennedy if "we are going to tip over into a real breadline depression," receiving the reply, "If you asked any auto worker out in Detroit, they would say that we are in a depression at the present time."

When the word was flung at Franklin D. Roosevelt during the mid-1930s, he wagged a finger at opponents and told them not to speak of rope in the house of a man who had been hanged. About that time, "recession" came into being, replacing the odious "depression," a word that Henry Vansittart first applied to a slowdown in 1793, and that Aldous Huxley resuscitated in 1938.

Panicking the Crisis-Prone

Professor John Kenneth Galbraith informs me that the word first used widely in this regard was "panic"; Karl Marx later preferred "crisis"; ultimately, a much softer term — "depression" — was chosen, so as not to panic the crisis-prone.

Since then, hard times have been euphemized as "rolling readjustments," "crabwise movements," and "extended seasonal slumps," but it seemed that linguistic order was just around the corner when the National Bureau of Economic Research defined a recession as "a recurring period of decline in total output, income, employment and trade, usually lasting from six months to a year and marked by widespread contractions in many sectors of the economy." Journal-

tic shorthand reduced that definition to "a two-quarter decline in gross national product."

But what about "a real breadline depression," one that will — in the phrase Treasury Secretary George Humphrey used in the 1950s — "curl your hair"? "The Depression" — capitalized, sometimes with "Great" — refers to the panic, crisis, paralysis and unemployment of 1929-33, sometimes merged with the follow-up slump of 1936-37. To define "a depression" — small 'd' — calls to leading economists elicited these definitions.

Alan Greenspan: "A depression is either a 17 percent unemployment rate for nine months or more, or a 15 percent unemployment rate for three to nine months."

Richard Rahn: "I would consider the country to be in a depression if there were a sustained, major drop in GNP for more than one year, combined with unemployment well into the double-digit range for an extended period of time."

Psychiatric View

"To many," writes the Miami Herald, "a depression is what you talk to a psychiatrist, not an economist." The depressive syndrome, according to the American Psychiatric Association's glossary, includes "slowed thinking, decreased purposeful physical activity, guilt and hopelessness."

Does the word "depression" form a subliminal bridge between the disciplines of psychology and economics? To find out, I interviewed the founder of the school of psychometrics, Dr. Sigmund Keynes:

Why do interest rates stay so high? "Inflationary expectations. Lenders have been traumatized by years of negative real interest rates."

What is eroding the self-esteem of investors? "Budgetary jitters. They look at the projected federal deficit and they go — (shakes all over)."

What phrases can we look forward to as anti-inflationary psychology takes hold and a shared societal goal becomes interpersonal capital creation? "American Dream interpretation is a big new field, dealing as it does with double-digit envy. Reduce the psychic income tax and — holistic macro! — we can end all kinds of depression with revenue therapy."

New York Times Service

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